

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAIRO 08195 01 OF 02 181846Z

46

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 105631

O 181800Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5938

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 8195

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR EG IS US

SUBJECT: STATE OF PLAY IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS

REF: STATE 195234

1. I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM A LONG MEETING WITH FAHMY IN ALEXANDRIA. HE IS RECOVERING FROM A BAD CASE OF FLU. I WENT THROUGH THE POINTS IN THE REFERENCE TELEGRAM WITH HIM IN GREAT DETAIL, NOTHING WE THINK IT WOULD NOW BE USEFUL IN PREPARING THE WAY FOR THE UPCOMING SHUTTLE TO DUSCUSS SOME OF THE CONCEPTS WE HAD EARLIER TALKED ABOUT WITH GREATER SPECIFICITY IN ORDER TO CONSIDER HOW THEY MIGHT BEST BE FORMULATED. FAHMY WAS PREDICTABLY SENSITIVE ABOUT THESE POLITICAL ISSUES AND NEGATIVE. HE RECALLED THAT THE PRESIDENT AND HE HAD BOTH REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THAT EGYPT CAN MAKE NO RPT NO MORE POLITICAL CONCESSIONS AND WONDERED WHAT WAS MEANT BY OUR PHRASE, "CLOSE TO A COMMON FRAMEWORK" (PARA 2 REFTEL). THE MATTER OF DURATION, HE INSISTED, CANNOT RPT CANNOT BE SPECIFIED IN THE AGREEMENT ITSELF. THIS WILL BE HANDLED IN A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT SADAT TO PRESIDENT FORD. UNEF MUST CONTINUE TO BE RENEWED ANNUALLY. AT FIRST, HE ALSO DISCLAIMED ANY AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON NON-USE OF FORCE, BUT I REMINDED HIM OF OUR LENGTHY PERTINENT DISCUSSION AT ASWAN. HE THEN REMEMBERED AND AGREED THERE HAD BEEN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 CAIRO 08195 01 OF 02 181846Z

2. ON THE MATTER OF THE BOYCOTT, FAHMY INSISTED THAT

THIS, TOO, COULD ONLY BE AN ORAL COMMITMENT TO THE US. HE DISPUTED OUR FORMULATION IN PARA 3A, CLAIMING THAT HE HAD NEVER GONE THAT FAR. HE HAD SAID THAT EGYPT WILL QUIETLY LIFT THE BOYCOTT ON A SELECTIVE BASIS ON A NUMBER OF AMERICAN FIRMS. I REMINDED HIM THAT AT SALZBURG YOU HAD ASKED HIM TO EXTEND THE NUMBER FROM THE THREE HE HAD ORIGINALLY PROPOSED AND THAT HE HAD AGREED TO INCLUDE AMERICAN FIRMS WHO ARE INTERESTED IN DOING BUSINESS IN EGYPT. FAHMY ACKNOWLEDGED THIS WAS SO, BUT STRESSED THAT SUCH FIRMS HAD TO BE IN A POSITION TO DO "REAL, BIG AND SERIOUS" BUSINESS WITH EGYPT. HE AGAIN MENTIONED THE FORD EXAMPLE. HE WAS NOT RPT NOT WILLING AT THIS TIME TO CONSIDER EXTENDING THE PRINCIPLE TO EUROPEAN OR OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL. GOE MUST BEGIN WITH SELECTIVE AMERICAN FIRMS, HE ARGUED. WHEN THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE SEE THE BENEFITS DERIVING THEREFROM, THE BOYCOTT CAN PERHAPS THEREAFTER BE LIFTED MORE WIDELY. HAD THE ISRAELIS BEEN MORE RESPONSIBLE, FAHMY IRATELY STATED, THE GOE COULD HAVE GIVEN SOMETHING IN WRITING ON THIS ISSUE OF LIFTING THE BOYCOTT ON SELECTIVE FIRMS. HOWEVER, SINCE ISRAEL HAS REPEATEDLY PROVED THAT IT LEAKS EVERYTHING, GOE CANNOT RPT CANNOT GIVE SOMETHING IN WRITING.

3. ON THE MATTER OF REDUCING HOSTILE PROPAGANDA IN GOVERNMENT-OWNED MEDIA, FAHMY AGAIN STATED GOE CAN GIVE NOTHING IN WRITING. HE CONTENTED THAT EGYPT HAS ALREADY DONE SOMETHING. HE NOTED THAT THE PALESTINIANS HAVE ONLY YESTERDAY BITTERLY ATTACKED GOE AND USG ON VOICE OF PALESTINE STATION IN CAIRO. HE HAD TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT MININFO ABD AL-MAGD SHOULD WARN THE PALESTINIANS TO STOP. IF THEY FAIL TO DO SO, THE PRESIDENT SHOULD AUTHORIZE THE VOICE OF PALESTINE STATION TO BE CLOSED. FAHMY CLAIMED THE PRESIDENT HAS APPROVED SUCH CLOSURE IF NEEDED. FAHMY ALSO ALLUDED TO SADAT'S STATEMENT IN KHARTOUM ABOUT NON-EXPULSION OF ISRAEL FROM UNGA. HE CALLED THIS A "CRAZY" ACT ON THE PART OF THE PRESIDENT, WHICH HAS INCURRED FOR SADAT STRONG CRITICISM. WHAT MORE CAN THE ISRAELIS ASK FOR THAN WHAT SADAT HAS ALREADY DONE, HE WANTED TO KNOW? WE AND THE ISRAELIS SHOULD LEAVE THE MATTER OF REDUCING HOSTILE PROPAGAND TO HIS DISCRETION.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 CAIRO 08195 01 OF 02 181846Z

4. ON THE POLITICAL WARFARE POINT, FAHMY STATED THIS IS "OUT OF THE QUESTION." HERE AGAIN HE WILL GIVE NOTHING IN WRITING BECAUSE THE ISRAELIS WILL LEAK IT. "WHAT IS THIS DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT," HE ASKED RHETORICALLY, "FROM WHAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE ALREADY LEAKED ABOUT IT, EVERYBODY IS ATTACKING IT." GOE WILL HAVE A MAJOR PROBLEM SELLING IT TO THE ARAB WORLD. TWO ASPECTS IN PARTICULAR WILL BE POLITICALL EMBARRASSING: THE JOINTLY USED STRETCHES OF ROAD AND THE AMERICAN POSTS. FAHMY

ARGUED THAT IF THE ISRAELIS ACT HONORABLY, THIS WILL ITSELF
GIVE OTHER GOVERNMENTS FREEDOM TO ACT. ISRAEL CAN AGAIN OBTAIN
RECOGNITION THROUGH ITS OWN GOOD BEHAVIOR, BUT THUS FAR HE
HAS SEEN LITTLE OF IT. IF THE ISRAELIS VALUE EGYPTIAN PRESTIGE
THAT MUCH, WHY DO THEY NOT RPT NOT OFFER A BETTER AGREEMENT.
"THEY BEHAVE LIKE CHILDREN." THE MOST THAT HE WOULD DO WAS NOT
RPT NOT TO TAKE ANY GEYPTIAN INITIATIVE TO PREVENT ANY STATE
FROM RESUMING RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. ON BARRING ISRAEL FROM
UN OR OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS, HE AGAIN SPOKE OF SADAT'S
KHARTOUM STATEMENT. BUT TO PUT SOMETHING IN WRITING ON THIS
MATTER, HE INSISTED, WOULD BE POLITICAL SUICIDE.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAIRO 08195 02 OF 02 181857Z

46

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 105805

O 181800Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5939

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 CAIRO 8195

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

5. ON THE MATTER OF SENDING A THIRD PARTY FLAGSHIP
CARRYING CARGO TO OR FROM ISRAEL TO TRANSIT THE CANAL
AT SOME POINT DURING THE FORTHCOMING SHUTTLE, FAHMY WAS
ADAMANTLY OPPOSED. GOE, HE EMPHASIZED, WILL HONOR ITS
FIRST DISENGAGEMENT COMMITMENTS. IT WAS PREPARED TO
ALLOW SUCH CARGO TO GO THROUGH HAD IT BEEN DONE TWO
OR THREE MONTHS AGO. HE RECALLED A "SUGAR SHIP" WAS REPORTED TO
BE PREPARING TO TRANSIT SOME MONTHS AGO AND CLAIMED GOE
WAS PREPARED TO LET IT PASS. NOW, HOWEVER, THE MATTER
IS ONE OF TIMING. IF THE ISRAELIS TRY TO SEND THE
SHIP THROUGH NOW, WHEN ALL OF SADAT'S CRITICS ARE BITTERLY
ATTACKING HIM BECAUSE OF THE UPCOMING DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT,
IT WILL CAUSE "COMPLICATIONS". IT WILL DO HARM NOT RPT NOT ONLY
TO EGYPT, BUT TO USG AS WELL. USG WILL AGAIN GAIN, AS HE PUT IT,
THE REPUTATION OF BEING "THE UGLY AMERICAN." FAHMY CONTENDED

THAT SUCH CARGO SHIP SHOULD GO THROUGH AFTER THE NEW DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT IS SIGNED AND AFTER THE ISRAELIS ARE OUT OF THE OIL-FIELDS. THE PEOPLE COULD THEN SEE HOW EGYPT HAS BENEFITED AND WILL IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES NOT RPT NOT REACT. SPEAKING AS A FRIEND, FAHMY PLEADED THAT SUCH A TRANSIT DURING THE SHUTTLE WILL COMPLICATE MATTERS FOR YOU AND SADAT, BUT INSISTED THE COMMITMENT WILL BE HONORED. IT IS MERELY A MATTER OF TIMING.

6. FAHMY THEN CHANGED THE SUBJECT TO THE MASSIVE US AID FOR ISRAEL THAT IS BEING DISCUSSED. HE RECOGNIZED THIS TO BE THE PRICE OF THE AGREEMENT. HE ARGUED, HOWEVER, THAT USG SHOULD
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 CAIRO 08195 02 OF 02 181857Z

TREAT EGYPT EQUALLY GENEROUSLY. I POINTD OUT THAT WE ARE ALREADY ASKING ABOUT
DOLS 500 MILLION, PLUS PL 480. HE CALLED THIS PALTRY, COMPARED TO WHAT WE ARE GIVING TO ISRAEL AND COMPARED TO EGYPT'S NEEDS.

7. I BROUGHT THE SUBJECT BACK SEVERAL TIMES TO THE POINTS AT ISSUE, BUT FAHMY WAS ADAMANT. WHEN I SAID YOU WERE CERTAIN TO BE DISAPPOINTED, HE ASKED THAT I NOT RPT NOT REPORT HIS VIEWS. I TOLD HIM YOU HAD SPECIFICALLY RAISED THESE POINTS AND NEED AN ANSWER, BUT HE INSISTED NO RPT NO ANSWERS SHOULD BE SENT. INSTEAD, HE THOUGHT IT BEST THAT SADAT HIMSELF TELL YOU HIS VIEWS ON THESE POLITICAL ASPECTS. HE RECALLED THAT DURING MY LAST MEETING WITH SADAT, THE PRESIDENT HAD SPECIFICALLY STATED THAT HE IS NOT RPT NOT PREPARED TO MAKE ANY POLITICAL CONCESSIONS BEYOND THOSE ALREADY AGREED UPON AT ASWAN AND SALZBURG. FAHMY ADDED THAT HE, AS FONMIN, COULD NOT RPT NOT ADVISE HIM TO DO ANY MORE. HE ASKED THAT I LIMIT MY REPORT OF HIS COMMENTS TO TWO POINTS: A) YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT THE GOE WILL HONOR EVERYTHING IT HAS AGREED UPON, AND B) IT IS IN USG AS WELL AS ISRAELI INTERESTS NOT RPT NOT TO EMBARRASS SADAT BY MAKING DEMANDS WHICH HE CANNOT MEET WITHOUT RISKING POLITICAL SUICIDE.

8. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH FAHMY'S REACTION WAS PREDICTABLY NEGATIVE, I THINK IT WAS A USEFUL EXERCISE TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS WITH HIM. I DOUBT THAT HE IS PREPARED TO THINK OF ANY FORMULATIONS TO BE PUT IN WRITING. BASED ON PAST EXPRIENCE, HE IS DEADLY AFRAID THAT THE ISRAELIS WILL LEAK THEM, AS THEY DOUBTLESS WILL. THUS, HE CONTENTED, THE KIND OF CONCESSIONS DISCUSSED IN REFTTEL MUST ALL BE ORAL COMMITMENTS. I DOUBT THAT HE WILL BUDGE, ALTHOUGH I GET THE IMPRESSION HE DOES NOT RPT NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE PRESIDENT--DESPITE LATTER'S STRONG TALK--MAY CAVE IN ON ONE OR MORE OF THE ITEMS IN THE COURSE OF YOUR SHUTTLE TALKS WITH HIM. WHILE FAHMY HAS GENERALLY BEEN HELPFUL, I THINK WE MUST EXPECT HIM TO MAKE A STRONG EFFORT TO URGE THE PRESIDENT NOT RPT NOT TO DO SO BY POINTING OUT THE POLITICAL RISKS SADAT INCURS IN GOING BEYOND WHAT HE HAS ALREADY AGREED UPON.
EILTS

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, PEACE PLANS, NEGOTIATIONS, PROGRESS REPORTS, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 08/18/75, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975CAIRO08195
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P850011-1656, N750003-0279
From: CAIRO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750841/aaaabjox.tel
Line Count: 223
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 75 STATE 195234
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 DEC 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: WITHDRAWN <09 APR 2003 by Izenbel0, 3.4.X6>; RELEASED <17 DEC 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <17 DEC 2003 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: STATE OF PLAY IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: PREL, PFOR, EG, IS, US, (FAHMY, ISMAIL)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006